# Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-08** 

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SECDEF WASHDC

USDEL MC BRUSSELS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

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USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR PFOR GR US

SUBJ: US-GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: STOCK TAKING

AND PROSPECTUS

REF: A. ATHENS 6024; B. ATHENS 7888

1. SUMMARY: CALOGERAS HAS INFORMED STEARNS THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT IS SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS MADE IN SOFA AND TELE-COMMUNICATIONS SUBGROUPS AND DISSATISFIED WITH US POSITION ON HELLENIKON. IN VIEW OF ADVERSE PUBLICITY GENERATED BY OCTOBER SIX VISITS TO ELEFSIS, CALOGERAS DOES NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE GOG WILL AGREE TO ADDITIONAL VISITS AFTER END OF YEAR. GREEKS FAVOR THIRD PLENARY MEETING IN CONFIDENTIAL

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LATTER PART OF NOVEMBER, BUT WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT

NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT RPT NOT BE CONCLUDED AT THAT TIME. END SUMMARY.

- 2. CALOGERAS AND STEARNS MET OCTOBER 16 TO REVIEW PRO-GRESS MADE IN SUBGROUP MEETINGS ON SOFA, TELECOMMUNI-CATIONS AND EHLLENIKON AND TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON PROBLEMS STILL TO BE RESOLVED AND TIMETABLE FOR FUTURE MEETINGS.
- 3. CALOGERAS BEGAN THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING UNFAVORABLE PRESS COVERAGE AND POLITICAL COMMENT INSPIRED BY INITIAL SHIP VISITS TO ELEFSIS IN OCTOBER. GREEK NEWSPAPERS IN RECENT DAYS HAVE GIVEN PROMINENT COVERAGE TO RESOLUTION OF ELEFSIS TOWN COUNCIL CALLING FOR TERMINATION OF VISITS AND TO CRITICAL COMMENTS BY OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN WHO HAVE PROFESSED "SURPRISE" THAT VISITS ARE CONTINUING AFTER GOG ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HOMEPORTING HAD BEEN TERMINATED. CALOGERAS OBSERVED THAT PUBLICITY OF THIS KIND LED HIM TO BELIEVE THAT GOG WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT CONSIDER PROLONING THE INTERIM STATUS OF ELEFSIS PIER AFTER THE END OF THE YEAR, HE SAID THAT GOG SPOKESMEN ON BACKGROUND BASIS HAD ALREADY INDICATED THATUS SHIP VISITS TO ELEFSIS WOULD END IN 1975. ACCORDINGLY, HE THOUGHT THAT USG SHOULD BE REALISTIC IN ACCEPTING THE FACT THAT NO REPEAT NO EXTENSION WAS IN THE CARDS.
- 4. STEARNS RECALLED THAT WHEN THE SUBJECT OF AN INTERIM STATUS FOR ELEFSIS PIER HAD FIRST ARISEN THE GREEK SIDE HAD AGREED TO CONSIDER EXTENSION IN DECEMBER IN LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE THEN PREVAILING IN GREECE. NO COMMITMENT HAD BEEN MADE ABOUT GOG'S EVENTUAL DECISION, AND CALOGERAS HAD BEEN CONSISTENTLY NEGATIVE ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF EXTENSION, BUT STEARNS BELIEVED THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY TO REACH A FINAL JUDGMENT NOW. AS CALOGERAS HIMSELF HAD OFTEN SAID, GOG ATTITUDE WOULD BE AFFECTED BY DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS, NOTABLY PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. DECEMBER WAS STILL TWO MONTHS AWAY AND STEARNS HOPED THAT CALOGERAS AND GOG WERE STILL PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THE QUESTION AT THAT TIME. CALOGERAS AGREED THAT GOG HAD UNDERTAKEN TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK CONFIDENTIAL.

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AT THE SITUATION IN DECEMBER, AND WOULD STILL DO SO BUT REPEATED THAT HE COULD HOLD OUT LITTLE OR NO HOPE THAT AN EXTENSION WOULD BE GRANTED.

5. TURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS, CALOGERAS SAID THAT HE WISHED TO EXPRESS THE SATISFACTION OF THE GREEK SIDE AT THE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE US SIDE. BRIGADIER KOURIS HAD INFORMED CALOGERAS THAT THE WORK OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS SUBGROUP HAD PROCEEDED SMOOTHLY AND THAT THE US SIDE HAD SHOWN ITSELF WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE THE "MODEST REQUIRE-MENTS" OF THE GREEK MILITARY AT OUR FACILITIES. CALOGERAS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT WE WOULD BE EQUALLY FORTHCOMING IN ACCEDING TO THE GREEK SIDE'S REQUEST FOR LOWER RANGE LF BROADCAST FROM NAVCOMMSTA. STEARNS SAID THAT WE WERE EQUALLY PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS SUBGROUP MEETINGS AND HAD FORWARDED THE GREEK REQUEST FOR LOWER RANGE FACILITIES TO WASHINGTON WITH THE RECOMMENDATION THAT IT BE CONSIDERED SYMPATHETICALLY. AS CALOGERAS KNEW, THE REQUEST RAISED PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF AN OPERATIONAL NATURE AND WASHINGTON AGENCIES WOULD HAVE TO STUDY THE MATTER CAREFULLY BEFORE RESPONDING, CALOGERAS THEN NOTED THAT US SIDE HAD MENTIONED INFORMALLY THE POSSI-BILITY OF SIGNING MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD COVER AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE FIELD OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS. HE THOUGHT THAT THE GREEK SIDE FOR POLITICAL REASONS WOULD PREFER TO DEFER THE SIGNING OF ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENTS UNTIL THE END OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WAS STILL THINKING IN TERMS OF AN UMBRELLA AGREEMENT WITH TECHNICAL ANNEXES. HE HOPED THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED AT THE SUBGROUP LEVEL FOR TRAINING AND LIMITED SHARING OF FACILITIES COULD BE IMPLEMENTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WITHOUT AWAITING THE EXCHANGE OF SIGNED AGREEMENTS. STEARNS SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT THESE VIEWS TO WASHINGTON AND THE US SIDE WOULD EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVOING AHEAD ON BASIS OF ORAL RATHER THAN SIGNED UNDERSTANDINGS.

6. REGARDING THE WORK OF THE SOFA SUBGROUP, CALOGERAS ALSO EXPRESSED PLEASURE WITH PROGRESS MADE. MEETINGS CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE SOFA SUBGROUP WOULD CONTINUE IN THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 19 WHEN COMMANDER GRUNAWALT RETURNED TO ATHENS. STEARNS OBSERVED THAT PROBLEMS OF DETAIL, INCLUDING THE PRECISE WORDING OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS, WOULD STILL REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED EVEN AFTER THE CURRENT ROUND OF SUBGROUP TALKS HAD BEEN CONCLUDED. HE REMINDED CALOGERAS THAT THE US SIDE HAD PROPOSED A FURTHER SUBGROUP MEETING IN WASHINGTON AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE GREEK SIDE WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO THIS. CALOGERAS REPLIED THAT HE WOULD DISCUSS THIS POSSIBILITY WITH BITSIOS AND ADVISE US IN DUE COURSE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S REACTION.

7. MOVING ON TO THE SUBJECT OF US FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON, CALOGERAS STATED THAT HE WAS "EXTREMELY

UNHAPPY" ABOUT THE APPROACH BEING ADOPTED BY THE US SIDE. THERE SEEMED TO BE A BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING, HE SAID, ABOUT WHAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAD AGREED TO IN THE SECOND PLENARY MEETING IN APRIL. AT THAT TIME, AND MOST RELUCTANTLY, THE GOG HAD AGREED THAT "CERTAIN" US FACILITIES COULD REMAIN ON THE ENLARGED HELLENIC AIR FORCE BASE. THE GREEK SIDE HAD STATED CLEARLY THAT THEY HAD EXPECTED A DRASTIC RE-DUCTION IN THE AMERICAN PRESENCE. A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN MADE THAT THE US BASE WOULD BE CLOSED. SINCE THEN THE US SIDE HAD DONE NOTHING MORE THAN OFFER TOKEN REDUCTION IN PERSONNEL AND A FEW PROPOSALS FOR COSMETIC CHANGES. WE HAD OFFERED TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF US PERSONNEL TO 1,150 BUT THIS REDUCTION WAS A COMBINATION OF SLEIGHT-OF-HAND RELOCATIONS OF PERSONNEL IN THE ATHENS AREA AND THE DEPARTURE OF PERSONNEL NO LONGER NEEDED AFTER THE TERMINATION OF HOMEPORTING.

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## LIMDIS

IN THE CURRENT ROUND OF SUBGROUP TALKS WE HAD PROPOSED A FURTHER "REDUCTION" TO 850 BUT THIS INVOLVED NOTHING MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN MOVING 200 TO 300 PEOPLE FROM ONE SIDE OF THE ROAD TO THE OTHER SIDE. CALOGERAS SAID THAT WE HAD TO FACE THE FACT THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT WAS INSISTING ON REAL REDUCTIONS AND NOT FICTIOUS ONES. THERE HAD TO BE FASTER PROGRESS IN THIS AREA AND A MORE "CONSTRUCTIVE" ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE US SIDE.

8. STEARNS SAID HE BELIEVED THAT IF THERE WERE MISCON-CEPTIONS ABOUT HELLENIKON THEY WERE REPEAT WERE ON THE GREEK AND NOT REPEAT NOT AMERICAN SIDE. FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST PLENARY MEETING IN FEBRUARY, STEARNS HAD MADE CLEAR THAT US FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON WERE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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KEY IMPORTANCE TO ALL US ACTIVITIES BASED IN GREECE AND TO THE ROLE OF THE US IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. FURTHERMORE, AS CALOGERAS HAD SEEN FOR HIMSELF, US FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON OPERATED ON AN AUSTERE BASIS. THERE WAS VERY LITTLE FAT TO BE TRIMMED. WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAD POLITICAL PROBLEMS WITH THIS FACILITY BECAUSE OF ITS CONSPICUOUS LOCATION BUT WE TOOK SERIOUSLY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES THAT THEY CONSIDERED THE BASIC FUNCTIONS PERFORMED THERE TO BE IMPORTANT AND TO CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO GREECE'S OWN SECURITY. OUR PROPOSALS FOR PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS AND RELOCATIONS IN THE ATHENS AREA HAD NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN SLEIGHT-OF-HAND. ON THE CONTRARY THEY WERE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO EASE THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS WHILE STILL MAINTAINING SOME DEGREE OF OPERATION EFFICIENCY.

9. WE COULD NOT GO BELOW 850, STEARNS CONTINUED, WITHOUT MAJOR RELOCATION OF ESSENTIAL FUNCTIONS OUTSIDE OF THE ATHENS AREA. WE WERE MINDFUL OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES THAT WE WERE NOT REPEAT NOT BEING ASKED TO MOVE THESE FUNCTIONS OUTSIDE OF GREECE. WE WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER MAJOR RELOCATIONS FROM ATHENS TO OTHER PARTS OF GREECE, EVEN THOUGH THESE WOULD BE COSTLY AND WOULD REQUIRE MORE RATHER THAN LESS AMERICAN PERSONNEL, BUT WE WONDERED WHETHER SUCH RELOCATIONS WOULD NOT CREATE MORE POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THAN THEY SOLVED. STEARNS ASKED WHETHER GOG WAS READY TO ENVISAGE AND PUBICLY TO DEFEND A MAJOR RELOCATION TO TANEGRA, FOR EXAMPLE.

10. CALOGERAS SAID HE THOUGHT THAT A RELOCATION OF THIS KIND WAS IMPRACTICAL. HE ASKED WHY IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE THE GROUND PROCESSING UNIT OUT OF GREECE, THEREBY CUTTING US STRENGTH SIGNIFICANTLY AT HELLENIKON AND AVOIDING THE DISADVANTAGES OF RELOCATION WITHIN GREECE. STEARNS REPLIED THAT ALMOST ANY MOVE AWAY FROM GREECE WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO THE US AND ULTIMATELY, HE THOUGHT, TO GREECE. FURTHERMORE, THIS WOULD RUN DIRECTLY COUNTER TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES THAT WE COULD RELOCATE WITHIN CONFIDENTIAL

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GREECE. HE ASKED CALOGERAS WHETHER GOG WAS CHANGING ITS POSITION IN THIS RESPECT.

11. CALOGERAS SAID THERE WAS NO REPEAT NO CHANGE AND WE WERE NOT REPEAT NOT BEING ASKED TO LEAVE GREECE IT WAS OBVIOUS HOWEVER THAT WE WERE APPROACHING AN IMPASSE ON THE US PRESENCE AT HELLENIKON. HE WOULD REPORT STEARNS' OBSERVATIONS TO BITSIOS AND SEE WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S REACTION WAS. MEANWHILE, HE ASKED STEARNS TO CONVEY HIS OWN DISSATISFACTION TO WASHINGTON. WE WOULD HAVE TO EXPLORE THE PROBLEM OF HELLENIKON CAREFULLY TO SEE WHETHER A SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND WHICH SATISFIED THE POLITICAL NEEDS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND THE OPERATIONAL NEEDS OF THE US. SOME ADDITIONAL TIME MIGHT BE GAINED BY INSTITUTING IMMEDIATELY THE VARIOUS COSMETIC CHANGES AT HELLENIKON WHICH THE US SIDE HAD ALREADY PROPOSED. AMONG THESE. IN THE VIEW OF CALOGERAS, THE MOST IMPORTANT WAS TO CLOSE THE MAIN GATE TO THE AMERICAN PORTION OF THE BASE AND TO TURN OVER PERIMETER SECURITY TO THE HELLENIC AIR FORCE. STEARNS SAID THAT US AND GREEK BASE COMMANDERS WOULD BE DISCUSSING THESE MATTERS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

12. IN CONCLUSION, CALOGERAS SAID THAT THE GREEK SIDE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A THIRD PLENARY MEETING TOWARD THE END OF NOVEMBER. ANA PPROPRIATE DATE MIGHT BE THE THIRD WEEK OF NOVEMBER, ENABLING THE PLENARY TO CONCLUDE BY THE END OF THE FIRST WEEK OF DECEMBER. ANYTHING LATER THAN THIS WOULD RUN INTO THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS. STEARNS SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT THIS PROPOSAL TO WASHINGTON TO SEE WHETHER THESE DATES WERE CONVENIENT. HE AND CALOGERAS AGREED THAT A FOURTH AND PERHAPS A FIFTH PLENARY WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE CONCLUDED. NEVERTHELESS, A THIRD PLENARY IN LATE NOVEMBER MIGHT SERVE TO FORMALIZE PROGRESS MADE TO DATE, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELDS OF SOFA AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS. CALOGERAS SAID THAT GHE GREEK SIDE WOULD ALSO WISH TO DISCUSS

ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED UMBRELLA AGREEMENT AT THE THIRD PLENARY. STEARNS REPLIED THAT, AS CALOGERAS KNEW, WE BELIEVED THAT DISCUSSION OF THE FINAL FORM CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS COULD BEST BE UNDERTAKEN AFTER FURTHER PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN GREECE'S NATO DISCUSSIONS AND WE HAD GAINED A CLEARER IDEA OF THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS ARRIVED AT IN OUR BILATERAL NEGITIATIONS. CALOGERAS SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD OUR POINT OF VIEW BUT BELIEVED THAT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE UMBRELLA AGREEMENT COULD BE DISCUSSED, AT LEAST TENTATIVELY, WITHOUT IMPINGING ON GREECE'S NATO DISCUSSIONS OR PRE-JUDGING THE RESULTS OF THE BILATERALS.

13. COMMENT: WE WILL BE COMMENTING EARLY NEXT WEEK ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY CALOGERAS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL HOWEVER TO PROVIDE CALOGERAS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH REACTION TO THE DATES THAT HE HAS PROPOSED FOR A THIRD PLENARY MEETING. AS WE HAVE STATED BEFORE, WE THINK THERE IS EVERY REASON TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE ARE READY AND WILLING TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS AND, AFTER TWO ROUNDS OF SUBGROUP MEETINGS, A THIRD PLENARY WILL ENABLE US TO CONFIRM PROGRESS MADE TO DATE AND TO TAKE ANOTHER CRACK AT THE STUBBORN PROBLEMS THAT REMAIN. STEARNS

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